326 /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the [301] hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more [492] commonly used 414 articles -- saddlery articles, cavessons for [412] camels, highly ornamented padlocks with keys, hair knives, etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique [531] which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian Arabs and the Sudanese.

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms; 326 they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and 411 lances were for the most part manufactured by blacksmiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an iron mine which is located beside the village of Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the [172] Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized in the camps.

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Pottery is made by Negresses, the wives /281/ of Harratin, or freed former captives who live in the agricultural centers.

This outline of the techniques and industries of the Kel Ahaggar Tuareg brings out their poverty.

Can we speak of art among the Iha̤ggaren? That seems difficult, for aside from a few rare objects, all those that they use are more or less in use in the Ahaggar are imported from Aïr or Ădrar des Ifôras, and that is explained all the better by the fact that the artisans are more or less originally from these regions.

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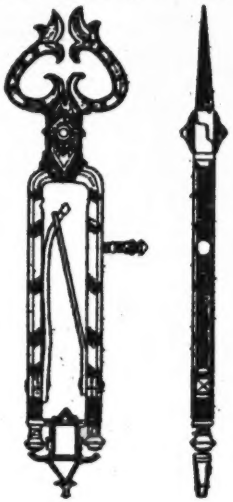

Fig. 52. Sugar tongs.

It is difficult to determine the origins of Tuareg art in general. It is in reality a composite art taken from all their neighbors, which, is not, for the most part, the achievement of the Tuareg themselves but of their artisans. It is among the latter that the distant origins /of Tuareg art/ must be sought.

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The tastes of the Tuareg appear to be unchangeable. They have been fixed for centuries; therefore, in ancient documents some hundred years old one finds the same shape, the same dimensions, the same coloring as today. In this regard we shall say that the Enad is not an artist. He is a worker who may have taste, but who is, on the whole, incapable of creating. He faithfully reproduces the model which has been handed down to him. He

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 21 a–b. Milk-bowls (*akus*, pl. *ikassen*) which are used for milking and for milk drinking.

a. A bowl made of burned clay like an ordinary earthen pot. These bowls are never used by pastoral Tuareg but by a few sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar who also manufacture them. Ahaggar, Tamanṛaset. Dimension: 0.120 m high with an upper diameter of 0.187 m. (N.M. G. 5821).

b. A bowl cut of the wood of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). It is made by a blacksmith, but certain Tuareg women cut similar bowls which are common in all camps of pastoral Northern Tuareg. Such milk-bowls are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.102 m high with an upper diameter of 0.199 m. (N.M. G. 5199).

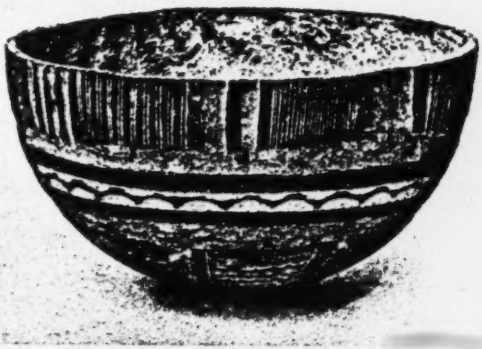

Fig. 22. Calabash of a type which is used occasionally for milking in Ahaggar. It is called *asekkas* (*wa n akh*) or *asekkas* (*wa n tazek*), that is "calabash for milk, or "calabash for milking". Introduced to Ahaggar from the south and bought at Tamanṛaset. Dimension: 0.110 m high with an upper diameter of 0.195–0.203 m. (N.M. G. 5823).

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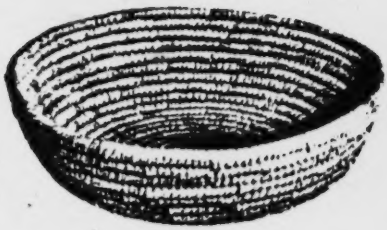

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Fig. 185. Tray or bowl *tabeyka* – perhaps not correctly spelled). It is used for winnowing, and it serves as an eating bowl and a drinking bowl as this container is watertight. Coiled basketry of date palm leaves (*afum*). Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.205 m in diameter. (F.M. 263).

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Fig. 186. Pot (*talekkist*) with a single handle. Manufactured by *Harratin* women in Ahaggar, the *Afukeu-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.18 m high. (F.M. 172).

in a mortar with a little water to a soft dough to which a little cheese, butter, or milk is added before eating. If a large quantity of milk is added this dish is known as *tarkit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, as mentioned (p. 167), also pound dried dates with locusts to make a dish eaten by women who wish to grow fat.

The Arabs and the Arabic-speaking agriculturists of Tidikelt (the *Harratin*) have introduced among the Northern Tuareg the well-known North African dish generally called kuskus. The dish is known to the Tuareg as *keskesu* which is also Arabic by origin. But this dish is not the staple diet among the Northern Tuareg that it is among the Arabs and the Berbers of the Atlas. It is eaten mainly on festive occasions, and there are many Tuareg women who even to-day do not know how to prepare it. The *keskesu* dish is preferably made from wheat flour, though barley flour may also be used. The cereals are ground with hand-mills or quern stones (saddle querns), and the flour is rolled into very

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Fig. 187a–b. Earthen cooking pots manufactured by *Ḥarratin* women in Ahaggar.
a. Pot (*téṛirt*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanṛaset. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (N.M. G. 5841).
b. Pot (*alekkin*). Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin* of Taṛhawhawt. Dimension: 0.174 m high. (N.M. G. 5204).

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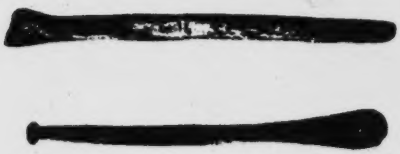

Fig. 188a–b. Simple ladles of the *aserwi* type used for stirring millet porridge. Made by Tuareg women from wood of *abser* (*Acacia Raddiana*).
a. Ahaggar, the *Aḏjah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.382 m long. (N.M. G. 5211).
b. Ahaggar, the *Iheṛawen Hada* tribe. Dimension: 0.415 m long. (N.M. G. 5846).

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small balls with a diameter of up to five milimetres. The balls are put into a special earthen, wooden, or plaited bowl (*denba*, or *denfu*; Fig. 189) which has a number of small holes in the bottom. This receptacle is placed on the top of a cooking pot containing meat and/or vegetables to be boiled in water for a soup. The small flour balls are thus steamed by the boiling soup in the cooking pot. Like

[Text continues on p. 250]

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as *téyint* (Ayr) or *talekkint* (Ahaggar). But pastoral Tuareg do not make eartenware pots themselves. They obtain them from sedentary people, and it is possible that vegetable dishes have been prepared with hot stones up to recent times, for Foucauld states that hot stones are occasionally used for various vegetable dishes in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, IV, p. 1583). However, I have not been able to confirm this during my own investigations among the Tuareg. It should be added that certain vegetable dishes are neither boiled nor baked. This is the case with seeds and roots of various wild plants which are ground and pounded into flour to be eaten without further preparation. Such dishes are known to the Tuareg as *tébik* (Ahaggar) or *téderka* (Ayr). Seeds and roots of wild plants utilized in this way have been mentioned in the chapter on collecting p. 175 ff.

The Tuareg have a great many different dishes, but in spite of this variety they do not always change their food from one day to another. They frequently live on the same type of food for extremely long periods. They may live almost exclusively on milk for weeks and even months, and if milk is not available they live so to speak exclusively on vegetable dishes, which may also not be changed for very long periods.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have three meals a day:— (1) *taǧimǧimt* which is a light meal taken in the morning. (2) *amekli* which is a prepared meal (e.g., bread, porridge, or *aṛehara*) eaten at midday. (3) *amaǧin* which is the evening meal, also known as *amensi*, or *aẓuẓeǧ*. It is the most important meal.

Fig. 193. Tuareg woman cooking kuskus (*keskesu*) in an European enamelled pot. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

by blacksmiths (*Inəḍen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*amerwas*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talak*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akrulal*, *abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

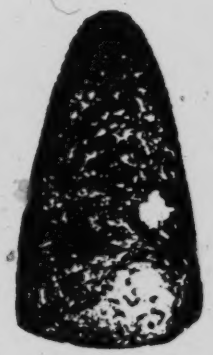

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *tafalt n ofoss*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Ajjeh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525

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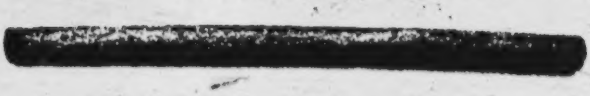

Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebeten* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amerwan*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-as-tehil* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

The pottery made in

323 Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from
[53] Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have
[114] been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing
[13] of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information
[437] (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

[462] In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507–512).

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Fig. 202a–b. Two ceramic drums of a type used by sedentary agriculturists in Ahaggar.

a. Large drum (*akraïaf*). Made by woman of the *Ḥarratin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.450 m high, 0.310–0.325 m in diameter at the top. (N.M. G. 5907).

b. Little drum (*abekar*). Made by woman of the *Ḥarratin* at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.25 m high, 0.25 m in diameter at the top. (F.M. 286).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*elbakkhar*). Ahaggar, *Ifarvatin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 5889).

512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned *Igdalen* Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenawen* class which comprises professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamachek* but also have their own language which is said to be related to *Songay*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a–b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably a cooking pot (*ɣrir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tamenast*) made from tinned copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*ɣrir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a–b, 75, 150, 153–154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191, 194, 195, 212a, 219a–b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs. 206a–d).

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Fig. 205. Painted earthen pot (*ikanawi*) manufactured by the professional potmakers called *Ikenawan*. Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.32 m high. (N.M. G. 6636).

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hobble ropes from straws of the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) (Maire 1933, p. 62). For the manufacture of proper ropes the Tuareg may employ the bark of trees. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr they use the bark of *Acacia Raddiana* (*absef* in Ahaggar, *afagag* in Ayr) for this purpose (Fig. 113). These ropes are made after much the same method as that used for the Ahaggar ropes of date palm bast (*asus*) and those of dum palm leaves made in Ayr. Ropes of this kind are always made by men, who, when making ropes from date palm bast, proceed in the following way:— Pieces of bast are soaked in water contained in a receptacle. They are thereupon torn into small strips about 20–30 cms long. These strips are rolled and twisted between the hands, and are kept in this rolled position under the foot until sufficient numbers of strips are available for the rope to be made. The ends of two rolled strips are then placed between the first and the second toes, and the strips are twisted together between the hands. New strips are added and twisted in this fashion until a suitable length of two twisted rows of strips has been made. This length is thereupon stretched over one of the feet, doubled, and twisted between the hands. It is finally hammered with a stone while resting on another stone or upon the bottom of a large mortar which is frequently used for support. The Ahaggar Tuareg make their hobble ropes in this way (Fig. 207), and the Ayr Tuareg apply the same technique to ropes made from strips of dum palm leaves which are also soaked in water before twisting. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr this method may also be used for the manufacture of leather cords (Figs. 43, 73a).